

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

FORTNIGHTLY BULLETIN

# DURUM

COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY

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## TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE JOURNAL "PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"

Esteemed Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey conveys its most revolutionary congratulations on the 20th anniversary of the journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism".

For 20 years the journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism" has vigorously reflected the advance of the world revolutionary process, the development and strengthening of the international communist and workers' movement as well as the national liberation movements, and the struggle being waged for world peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. It has spread the great ideals and principles of Marxism-Leninism, always relating them to the struggles, helping the masses to grasp them. The journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism" has become a sharp ideological weapon in the hands of communists and all progressive, patriotic forces in the struggle against imperialism and reaction. The journal defends in a concrete manner the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In our day it has become an important forum for the further strengthening of this unity.

Imperialism and the ruling circles of NATO are intensifying their attacks against the socialist countries, the world revolutionary forces, and the process of peace and detente. They are continuing their attempts to drown the liberation struggles of the peoples in blood and bullets. The Peking leaders are cooperating with them in these attacks.

The Soviet Union and the community of socialist countries are persistently and unwaveringly conducting a policy of peace and detente, a policy to ban weapons of mass human destruction, reduce armaments and prevent a nuclear war. They are extending a helping hand to the peoples struggling for national liberation. They are providing a source of strength for the struggles of the working class. In this way we can see concretely the indivisibility of peace and socialism.

The TKP is conducting a relentless struggle against imperialism's policy to increase tension and revive the "cold-war". It is struggling for the withdrawal of Turkey from NATO, the expulsion of American bases located on our lands, the tearing up of the bilateral agreements, and the adoption of a peaceful, non-aligned and active foreign policy. It is following a policy to draw the working class, the broad masses of the people, the overwhelming majority of the nation into action against the fascist danger incited by imperialism, NATO and the CIA. The TKP is working to establish a united front of all national democratic forces in this struggle.

The TKP is striving to bind the process of ensuring peace and security, of developing detente, with such struggles.

The journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism" has been an important support for our party, our working class and people in these



struggles. The journal "Yeni Çağ" (New Age) has been appearing for 15 years. It makes a great contribution to the theoretical education of communists and sympathisers. Articles which follow the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism open broad horizons for them and illuminate the road of struggle.

The legal distribution of the journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism" in Turkey is a gain for the progressive forces. Every issue of the journal is read with deep concentration.

On the 20th anniversary of the journal, "Problems of Peace and Socialism", we sincerely congratulate all the comrades who work or have previously worked in the editorial board of the journal in their valuable work. We wish them many great new successes in the struggle.

With communist greetings,

İ. Bilen,

General Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Turkey

22 August 1978

**EXCERPT FROM THE REPORT OF THE  
POLITICAL BUREAU READ BY COMRADE İ. BİLEN,  
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CC OF THE TKP,  
AT THE PLENUM OF THE CC**

"Comrades!

This meeting is the first plenum of the Central Committee following the Party Conference.<sup>(1)</sup> This plenum will consider the following: to what extent, and in what manner the party policy and the resolutions adopted at the Conference have been applied; what mistakes have been made; and what is still to be done....."

The report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the TKP considered the international situation, new developments in the Middle East, imperialism's policy of aggression and the Leninist peace policy of the socialist countries, in particular the efforts to ban weapons of mass human destruction, among them the neutron bomb. It emphasised the mounting pressure of imperialism and NATO on Turkey and the connection between this pressure and the bloody attacks of the fascist forces.

**I. THE POLITICAL SITUATION**

"The principal objective before us today is to overcome the danger of fascism that has been created by imperialism and the collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie..."

The Report, just as the Konya Conference of the TKP, declared that the crisis in the country are gradually deepening and that the divisions within the bourgeoisie are increasing. It said the following: "These developments, the struggle of the working class first and



foremost, of the democratic forces allied with it, are destroying the possibilities for the collaborating big bourgeoisie to rule the country as before. In general, the bourgeoisie can no longer form a government very easily. It cannot even make Parliament work. In such a situation, the reactionary ruling circles see the way out in increasing the terror and promoting the rise of fascism..."

The Report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the TKP stressed that guided by the resolutions adopted at the Konya Conference, the leadership of the party struggled to draw the working class and the broad working masses into action against the Demirel partnership and the process of fascist escalation. It worked to realise the unity of the working class, the unity of action and unity of front of all national democratic forces. It said the following:

"During the general elections,<sup>(2)</sup> the TKP called on the people not to give their votes to reactionary-fascist forces, but to vote for those candidates who stood for democratic rights and freedoms, to force back the parties in the government partnership, to ensure the unity of action of the forces arrayed against them and avoid splitting the vote. As a result of the election tactics applied by the TKP, the ties established between the working masses and the progressive, democratic forces extended to the left-wing of the Republican People's Party<sup>(3)</sup> (RPP)... During the local elections,<sup>(4)</sup> however, the TKP took into account the specific character of these elections and recent developments. It called on the people to deny their vote, not only to reactionary-fascist politicians, but also to those in the RPP who had come to an understanding with them, the right-wing of the RPP. The TKP proposed for election to local administrations those candidates who opposed the fascist escalation, those who stood for unity of the working class and national democratic forces, those who are trusted by the people, whether members of the RPP, the WPT,<sup>(5)</sup> the TSWP (Turkish Socialist Workers' Party),<sup>(6)</sup> or independents.... In order to be able to rule the country, imperialism and the collaborating big bourgeoisie found it necessary to change horses, to resort new methods. There developed a process of new alliances and reconciliations among the different wings of the bourgeoisie. The leadership of the RPP chose to establish links with Justice Party MPs, reactionary politicians, while multiplying attacks against the TKP, the working class and the trade union movement... During this period, the imperialist and monopolist circles failed in their aim of establishing a JP-RPP coalition. But the government demanded by the working class and the working masses could not be established either. The right-wing RPP leadership formed a new government by coming to an agreement with a group of reactionary politicians.... The new government has neither a clear anti-imperialist character nor a definite anti-fascist stand. It is reaching agreement with imperialism in many fields..."

It was emphasised in the Report that the danger of the fascist forces inciting a civil war, moving to a fascist dictatorship and obstructing the government's forward steps, however small they may be, were increasing, and that following the bloody massacre by fascists in İstanbul on the 16th of March,



the Communist Party of Turkey had issued a call to all progressive forces for unity of action, and nationwide resistance through demonstrations, meetings and political strikes against the danger of fascism. The Report continued: "The vacillating attitude of the government turned against the working class, the broad masses of the people, the forces and organisations actively struggling against fascism... The policy of our party is to support the forward steps, however small and wavering they may be, taken by this government against the attacks of reactionary fascist forces; to criticise and oppose the government's backward steps and inconsistencies and to force the RPP leadership to keep its promises to the people. The TKP is struggling against the RPP right-wing leadership's efforts to distract the working class and working masses with social-democratic ideology and reformist dreams. It opposes Maoist, Trotskyist and anarchist trends and adventurist attitudes which consider this government and the RPP to be one and the same with the reactionary-fascist forces.

The report stressed that over the recent period, the struggle of the working class and the people of Turkey had developed, and that examples were afforded this by the May Days and by the preparation and organisation of mass strikes, demonstrations and meetings. After pointing out that the development of DİSK<sup>(8)</sup> had not followed a straight line, the Report said the following: "At its last congress, some of the leaders of DİSK could not be reelected. Some of the new DİSK leaders display a tendency to draw the organisation into pacifism and class collaboration. But the strength of the rank and file workers compels them to defend, willingly or unwillingly, the principles of class trade unionism..." The Report took up the great strike of the metal workers which lasted eight months, and also the national and international solidarity with this strike, and said: "As a result of this self-sacrificing struggle, the metal workers achieved successes which are not to be underestimated".

The report concentrated on the developing class struggle in the country and noted that above all the process of organisation of communists in villages had begun, that the activities of Köy-Koop and the establishment of the Köy-Der, were of great importance, and that progressive mass actions, including the actions of youth, women and middle strata, were broadening. The Report emphasised the increasing influence of the Communist Party and forces close to it within this movement, and stated the following: "Another important gain obtained during this period is the strengthening of international ties by trade unions and progressive mass organisations. The following either became a member of or strengthened their ties with the respective international organisations: Maden-İş (Metal Workers' Union) and some other trade unions to international trade union bodies affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions; the Progressive Youth Organisation (İGD) to the World Federation of Democratic Youth; the Progressive Women's Organisation to the World Federation of Democratic Women; the Peace Committee to the World Peace Council. Meanwhile, the Teachers' Association (TÖB-DER) became a member of the World Teachers' Union..." The report stressed the importance of rescuing the army from the hands of imperialism and NATO, the importance of the patriotic soldiers, officers and non-commissioned officers, as well as the anti-



fascist forces in the police. It also stressed that the ideal of the National Democratic Front proposed by the Communist Party of Turkey was spreading rapidly and stated the following: "The rapidity and hopping nature of this development gave the impression in various places that the front had already been achieved. However, despite its popularisation as an ideal in broad circles, the actual process of formation of the national democratic front around a common platform could not be started..."

## **II. THE QUESTION OF TRADE UNIONS**

"It is necessary to work in DİSK and among workers affiliated to Türk-İş and other trade unions... Success in the struggle for the unity of the trade union movement on the basis of class interests depends first and foremost on ourselves becoming sufficiently organised among the masses of workers belonging to different trade unions... In the process of the class struggle, suitable conditions for ending the leadership of both yellow trade unionists and class collaborationists are developing... In addition, there is still the duty to drive back fascist attacks on the trade union level... The process of unity of action of the working class is developing under these conditions of the class struggle."

The Report emphasised that, based on the successful experiences of the Workers Committees which were established at factory level to conduct the preparatory and celebration work for May Day, and at the same time based on the principle of inner-union democracy, the TKP attributes great importance to expanding those organisations which come to the administration in factories by election. After stressing the necessity of struggle against the abrogation of trade union rights, the Report outlined the main targets of this struggle as follows: "The foremost aims of this struggle are secret elections, the right of referendum based on open counting of the votes, the repeal of articles restricting trade union and strike rights, the recognition of the right to general, solidarity and sympathy strikes, the banning of lockouts, an end to the appointment of trade union administrations from the top, trade union organisation at the work-shop level, and election of administrative organs..."

## **III. THE QUESTION OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT**

The Report pointed out that in today's concrete situation, the necessity and opportunities for winning the masses to the struggle for national independence have increased, and said: "It is daily becoming more and more important to connect the struggle for peace and disarmament, for friendly relations with the socialist countries, above all with the Soviet Union, for anti-fascist demands and democratic rights with the anti-imperialist struggle for national independence, and to organise mass actions around these aims..."

The Report stressed the determining role of the TKP in the unity of the working class as well as the worker-peasant alliance, during the process of



realisation of the National Democratic Front, stating that the foremost question for poor and landless peasants is to fight for a democratic land reform, and said the following: "A new development in this period is the solidarity of village working people with striking workers in some regions. This development creates new possibilities for the party organisation in the village".

The Report also emphasised that the TKP supports the struggle of the Kurdish people against oppression and all kinds of inequality, and went on: "The TKP defends the Kurdish people's right to self-determination... It is the duty of communists to struggle against both the chauvinist and terrorist attitude of the Turkish bourgeoisie, and the Kurdish bourgeois nationalists who are allied with the imperialists, big landowners and sheiks.. It is their duty also to organise the common struggle of the Kurdish and Turkish working people the working people of other national minorities, against imperialism and fascist escalation. Communists can open the way to freedom by forging unity between the Kurdish working masses and patriots and the Turkish people in the struggle against the common enemy, under the leadership of the working class, by uniting them in the National Democratic Front... In this period, communists must take the initiative in convening a general forum of trade unions, mass organisations and political parties such as the Workers' Party of Turkey and the Republican People's Party, a forum aimed at establishing the National Democratic Front.

#### IV. THE QUESTION OF STRENGTHENING THE TKP

In this section of the Report, it was stated that "After the Conference, the Political Bureau held a series of meetings with the party's regional secretaries and the bodies responsible for publication, trade union and mass activities" and that party organisations, particularly in the factories, were developing both quantitatively and qualitatively. Nevertheless, it said, there were still important shortcomings in the area of organisational work. It was emphasised that 60% of the party members are workers and that the overwhelming majority of the members are young, which it said, has negative as well as positive aspects. It was pointed out that the task of drawing the party's sympathisers, especially those among the workers, into the party, remained on the agenda. The importance of resolving the questions of conducting legal and illegal work in a coherent way, ending artisanship, and preparing conscious and experienced cadres, were concentrated upon in the Report, which said: "One of the most important areas of struggle facing our party in this period is the ideological struggle. One of our foremost duties is the constant struggle against all manners of bourgeois ideology, against fascist ideology and every form of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, against opportunism in all shapes and sizes, splitting trends like 'Eurocommunism', bourgeois reformism, Maoism, Trotskyism and anarchism. To defend the unity of the communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is our agenda"

Further on, the Report discussed questions relating to the publication work of the Party, especially "Atılım", the organ of the Central Committee, and "Durum", the information bulletin of the Party, which is published in



many foreign languages, stating the following: "One of the questions on which we must concentrate is that of legalisation of the TKP. In the recent period, the struggle for freedom to the TKP was taken up by broad masses. This year's May Day is the most concrete example of this. Democratic circles and some MPs from the bourgeois parties brought forward the demand for the repeal of anti-democratic laws and recognition of the TKP's right to work legally in the progressive press in various ways. On the one hand, the reactionary ruling circles are continuing the fascist terror and attacks and the repression of youth organisations and progressive publications like "Ürün" and "Problems of Peace and Socialism". On the other hand, they are making preparations to establish fake communist parties. Aside from a few words about abstract freedom, the government programme makes no mention of repealing anti-democratic laws. Moreover, the government is pursuing a passive, wavering policy against fascist attacks. Neither in the government nor in the parliament is there a majority for the repeal of anti-democratic laws.

Under these conditions, the possibilities for the legalisation of the TKP will become greater the stronger becomes the mass struggle around the objective of freedom to the TKP and the more this movement is able to influence parliament and the government. The slogan of this struggle is no longer expressed in guarded concepts, but openly: "Freedom to the TKP!"... Our unceasing duty is to defend and strengthen our party's ideological, political and organisational Leninist unity with all our might. Our party holds high the banner of proletarian internationalism."

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1. The Conference of the Communist Party of Turkey was held in February 1977, in Konya, Turkey.
  2. The June 1977 general elections.
  3. Republican People's Party (RPP): A bourgeois reformist party. Dominates in the present government.
  4. The December 1977 local elections.
  5. TWP: Turkish Workers' Party.
  6. TSİP: Turkish Socialist Workers' Party.
  7. The coalition government headed by Demirel, which lasted until January 1978, comprised the pro-American reactionary big bourgeois party, the Justice Party (JP), the fascist Nationalist Action Party (NAP), and the National Salvation Party (NSP).
  8. DİSK (The Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions): The second largest trade union confederation in Turkey. It conducts a progressive, resolute trade union activity.
  9. Türk-İş: The other large trade union confederation in Turkey. Extreme reactionaries dominate its leadership.







